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Socialist Documents



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APPEAL SOCIALIST CLASSICS

EDITED BY W. J. GHENT

No. 4

Socialist Documents

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APPEAL TO REASON

Girard, Kansas



THE SERIES

The pamphlets in this series are composed, in the main, of selections from the published work of Socialist writers, mostly of the present day. In some of them, particularly "Socialist Documents" and "Socialism and Government," the writings used are mainly of collective, rather than individual authorship; while the Historical Sketch is the composition of the editor.

To the selections given, the editor has added explanatory and connecting paragraphs, welding the fragments into a coherent whole. The aim is the massing together in concise and systematic form, of what has been most clearly and pertinently said, either by individual Socialist writers or by committees speaking for the party as a whole, on all of the main phases of Socialism.

In their finished form they might, with some appropriateness, be termed mosaics: each pamphlet is an arrangement of parts from many sources according to a unitary design. Most of the separate pieces are, however, in the best sense classics: they are expressions of Socialist thought which, by general approval, have won authoritative rank. A classic, according to James Russell Lowell, is of itself "something neither ancient nor modern"; even the most recent writing may be considered classic if, for the mood it depicts or the thought it frames, it unites matter and style into an expression of approved merit.

For the choice of selections the editor is alone responsible. Doubtless for some of the subjects treated another editor would have chosen differently. The difficulty indeed has been in deciding what to omit; for the mass of Socialist literature contains much that may be rightly called classic which obviously could not have been included in these brief volumes.

The pamphlets in the series are as follows:

1. THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM.
2. THE SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM.
3. SOCIALISM: A HISTORICAL SKETCH.
4. SOCIALIST DOCUMENTS.
5. SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT.
6. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.
7. SOCIALISM AND ORGANIZED LABOR.
8. SOCIALISM AND THE FARMER.
9. SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.
10. THE TACTICS OF SOCIALISM.
11. THE SOCIALIST APPEAL.
12. SOCIALISM IN VERSE.

CONTENTS

NUMBER AND TITLE	PAGE
PREFACE	4
I. THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM, 1848.....	5
II. THE INTERNATIONAL PREAMBLE, 1848.....	7
III. INTERNATIONAL ADDRESS TO LINCOLN, 1865....	9
IV. INTERNATIONAL ADDRESS TO AMERICAN WORK- MEN, 1869	11
V. ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS, 1870.....	13
VI. MANIFESTO AGAINST BAKUNINISM, 1871.....	14
VII. AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ON POLITICAL AC- TION, 1874	16
VIII. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM, 1874-75.	17
IX. THE GOTHA PROGRAM, 1875.....	18
X. VALEDICTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL, 1876...	21
XI. WORKINGMEN'S PARTY PLATFORM, 1876.....	22
XII. KNIGHTS OF LABOR DECLARATION, 1878.....	23
XIII. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY RESOLUTION, 1887.....	27
XIV. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PLATFORM, 1889.....	28
XV. THE ERFURT PROGRAM, 1891.....	33
XVI. THE FEDERATION "ELEVEN PLANKS," 1894.....	38
XVII. UNITY PROPOSAL, 1900.....	40
XVIII. UNITY CONVENTION PLATFORM, 1901.....	41
XIX. SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM, 1912.....	45
XX. BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 1884-1915.....	53
XXI. ANTI-WAR MANIFESTO, 1912.....	55
XXII. MANIFESTOES AGAINST WAR, 1914.....	56
XXIII. THE BELGIAN MANIFESTO, 1914.....	58
XXIV. THE AMERICAN MANIFESTO, 1914.....	59
XXV. THE AMERICAN PEACE PROGRAM, 1915.....	60
XXVI. WOMEN'S PEACE MANIFESTO, 1915.....	63

PREFACE

This pamphlet contains a collection of some of the more important platforms, programs and manifestoes of the Socialist and radical labor movement from the time of the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" to the present time. The arrangement is chronological, and the selections are thus illustrative of the development of Socialist principles and policy and the growth of the organized movement. Expressions of prominent individuals would no doubt in many cases have thrown an added light on this development; but the intention has been to assemble in this pamphlet mainly those expressions which are authoritative in that they voice the common thought of organized groups or parties.

The manuscript for this pamphlet was finished before the promulgation of the 1916 platform of the Socialist party of the United States. The platform of 1912 is retained in full as the more historic document of the two, since it was the first comprehensive statement of the party's attitude on current social questions. Though the working demands of the 1916 platform are in the main repeated from the 1912 platform, the preamble is largely devoted to questions relating to the war. The party's attitude thereon is fully expressed in the two documents of 1914 and 1915.

W. J. G.

Special acknowledgment is made for the use of matter from books published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, the Macmillan Company and B. W. Huebsch (the list of which will be found on the last page).

SOCIALIST DOCUMENTS

I.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM, 1848.

The "Communist Manifesto" is the first formal expression of modern Socialism. It is, however, a personal rather than a collective expression. Though written for the Communist League and endorsed by that body, it was the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and no other influence is traceable in its composition.

The Manifesto appeared in London, in the German language, in January, 1848—"a few weeks," says Engels, "before the French revolution of February 24th." It was not rendered into English until two years later. It bears, of course, the marks of its immediate time. The expectation of an impending revolution throughout Europe reflects itself frequently in the document—though less, perhaps, in the Program than in the main part. The Program suggests revolution in the paragraph next to the last; yet the second paragraph contemplates the wresting of capital from the bourgeoisie "by degrees." The declared aims of this Program form the basis of the "immediate demands" which the Socialist party throughout the world has gradually elaborated and extended to meet new conditions. In many respects the original proposals are no longer applicable; but the general principles, as the authors said in 1872, and as may still be said, are on the whole, as correct today as ever. It should be remembered, in considering the title, that the word "communist" has greatly altered its meaning since 1848 and is now restricted to one who believes in a community of goods. The text is from the edition published by the Socialist Literature Company of New York:

The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., by the proletariat organized as the ruling class;

and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.

4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants* and rebels.

5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between

*By the word "emigrants" the authors here mean to designate capitalists who seek to escape the social revolution by emigrating to other lands. They hold that the property of such absentees should be confiscated—just as the French republic confiscated the property of the emigrant nobles, in the days of the revolution.

town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

II.

THE INTERNATIONAL PREAMBLE, 1864.

This Preamble to the Working Rules of the International Workingmen's Association was approved almost unanimously by a committee of fifty, enlarged from the committee selected by the great mass meeting which met in St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864. With an Address, approved at the same time, it was subsequently adopted by the Geneva convention (1866) of the International.

The Preamble (as also the Address) was written by Karl Marx and only slightly amended at the instance of others. Yet its form and substance were a matter of vigorous discussion by the committee, which rejected a previous draft written by

Giuseppe Mazzini. It is obvious, moreover, that concessions were made to Mazzini in the language of the final paragraph. The pamphlet may thus properly be regarded as the first collective expression of modern Socialism. The text is from Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States."

In consideration that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of class rule;

That the economic dependence of the working man upon the owner of the tools of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation and political dependence;

That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

That the present awakening of the working class in the industrial countries of Europe gives occasion for a new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united:

The First International Labor Congress declares that the International Workingmen's Association, and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward

one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality. This Congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights.

III.

INTERNATIONAL ADDRESS TO LINCOLN, 1865.

One of the first public expressions of the International was its address to Abraham Lincoln, congratulating him upon his re-election. It was written by Marx and was approved by the general council at its meeting of November 29th. The text is taken from Schlueter's "Lincoln, Labor and Slavery."

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America.

Sir.—We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority. If Resistance to the Slave Power was the watchword of your first election, the triumphal war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the Star Spangled Banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the immigrant or be prostituted by the tramp of the slavedriver?

When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world "Slavery" on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution" and maintained "slavery to be a beneficial institution," indeed, the only solution of

the great problem of the "relation of capital to labor," and cynically proclaimed property in man "the cornerstone of the new edifice,"—then the working classes of Europe understood at once (even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning) that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention—importunities of their betters—and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good of the cause.

While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic; while before the negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The workingmen of Europe felt sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of the enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

IV.

INTERNATIONAL ADDRESS TO AMERICAN WORKMEN,
1869.

On May 13, 1865, the International issued an address to President Andrew Johnson, deploring the assassination of Lincoln and expressing confidence in the purpose of his successor. On September 25, 1865, a general conference of the International, which met in London, issued an address to the people of the United States, summing up the results of the Civil War and counseling the people to "sunder all the chains of freedom." Later, when the controversy between England and America over the Alabama claims grew bitter, the general council issued a warning to the American workers regarding the attempts to create war. It was addressed to William H. Sylvis, president of the National Labor Union, and is dated May 12, 1869. The text is from Schlueter's "Lincoln, Labor and Slavery."

Fellow Workmen:

In the inaugural address of our Association we said: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." It is now your turn to prevent a war whose direct result would be to throw back, for an indefinite period, the rising labor movement on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there are European powers anxiously engaged in fomenting a war between the United States and England. A glance at the statistics of commerce shows that the Russian export of raw products—and Russia has nothing else to export—was giving way to American competition when the Civil War tipped the scales. To turn the American ploughshare into a sword would at this time save from impending bankruptcy a power whom your republican statesmen in their wisdom had chosen for their confidential adviser. But disregarding the particular interests of this or that government, is

it not in the general interest of our oppressors to disturb by a war the movement of rapidly extending international co-operation?

In our congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on the occasion of his re-election to the Presidency we expressed it as our conviction that the Civil War would prove to be as important to the progress of the working class as the War of Independence has been to the elevation of the middle class. And the successful close of the war against slavery has indeed inaugurated a new era in the annals of the working class. In the United States itself an independent labor movement has since arisen which the old parties and the professional politicians view with distrust.* But to bear fruit it needs years of peace. To suppress it, a war between the United States and England would be the sure means.

The immediate tangible result of the Civil War was of course a deterioration of the condition of American workingmen. Both in the United States and in Europe the colossal burden of a public debt was shifted from hand to hand in order to settle it upon the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessities, remarks one of your statesmen, have risen 78 per cent since 1860, while the wages of simple manual labor have risen 50 and those of skilled labor 60 per cent. "Pauperism," he complains, "is increasing in America more rapidly than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working class are in glaring contrast to the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats and other vermin bred by war. Still the Civil War offered a compensation in the liberation of the slaves and the impulse which it thereby gave to your own class movement. Another war, not sanctified by a sublime aim or a social necessity, but like the wars of the Old World, would forge chains for the free workingmen instead of sundering those of the slave. The

*The reference is to the National Labor Union and National Labor Reform party, which did not, however, fulfill expectations.

accumulated misery which it would leave in its wake would furnish your capitalists at once with the motive and the means of separating the working class from their courageous and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army. Yours, then, is the glorious task of seeing to it that at last the working class shall enter upon the scene of history, no longer as a servile following, but as an independent power, as a power imbued with a sense of its responsibility and capable of commanding peace where their would-be masters cry war.

V.

ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS, 1870.

A.

This declaration, passed at a meeting of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of Germany, July 17, 1870, is explained by August Bebel as follows: "Knowing nothing of the imminence of war, we had called a party meeting for the 17th of July. Now we had to define our attitude towards the war, and we did so in the following resolution":

This meeting protests against any war, but one undertaken in the interests of freedom and civilization, as a crime against modern civilization. This meeting protests against a war waged in the interests of a dynasty, which jeopardizes the lives of hundreds of thousands and the welfare of millions in order to satisfy the ambitions of a few of those in power. This meeting hails with joy the attitude of the French democracy, especially of the Socialistic workers, and declares its complete sympathy with their efforts to prevent the war, and expects the German democracy and German workers to uplift their voices for the same purpose.

B.

Of the subsequent declaration of himself and Liebknecht before the Reichstag, Bebel adds this comment: "The Reichstag was to be opened on the 19th of July. Liebknecht considered it was our duty to vote against any war loan. But it

was thought that a vote against the loan would be a vote in favor of Napoleon. The only possible course was for us to abstain from voting. Liebknecht finally agreed to this, and to justify our actions we had the following declaration inserted in the *Journal of the Reichstag*":

The present war is a dynastic war in the interest of the Bonaparte dynasty, as the war of 1866 was in the interest of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

We cannot vote the moneys required for the conduct of this war, as this would imply a vote of confidence in the Prussian government, which prepared the way for this war by its proceedings in 1866.

Neither can we vote in an adverse sense, as that would be equivalent to approval of the wicked and criminal policy of Bonaparte.

As we are in principle opposed to all dynastic wars, and as Socialist Republicans and members of the International Workingmen's Association which, without regard for nationality, opposes all oppressors and strives to unite in one fraternal union all the oppressed, cannot, either directly or indirectly, declare for the present war, we therefore abstain from voting, in the confident hope that the peoples of Europe, taught by the present fateful events, will do everything to conquer their rights of self-direction, and to abolish the existing supremacy of class and the sword, which is the cause of all public and social evil.

VI.

MANIFESTO AGAINST BAKUNINISM, 1871.

The bitter contest of Marx and his following against the anarchistic and conspiratory faction led by Michael Bakunin prompted this manifesto, by a special conference of the International held in London, September 17-23, 1871. Its subject matter is the relation of political action to economic or "direct" action. "Political action," in the words of Robert Hunter, "is pointed out as the fundamental principle of the organization, and, in order to give authority to this plea, the various declarations that had been made during the life of the International

were brought together." The text is from Hunter's "Violence and the Labor Movement."

Considering the following passage of the preamble to the rules: "The economic emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*;"

That the Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association (1864) states: "The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economic monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labor. * * * To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes;"

That the Congress of Lausanne (1867) has passed this resolution: "The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation;"

That the declaration of the general council relative to the pretended plot of the French Internationals on the eve of the plebiscite (1870) says: "Certainly by the tenor of our statutes, all our branches in England, on the Continent and in America have the special mission not only to serve as centers for the militant organization of the working class, but also to support, in their respective countries, every political movement tending toward the accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economic emancipation of the working class;"

* * * * *

Considering that against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes;

That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the

triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end—the abolition of classes;

That the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economic struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists—

The Conference recalls to the members of the International:

That, in the militant state of the working class, its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united.

VII.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL ON POLITICAL ACTION, 1874.

The earlier attitude of the American Socialist movement toward political action underwent many radical changes, sometimes emphasizing exclusive economic action and at other times political action in support of non-Socialist radical parties. As late as 1889 a considerable element in the movement argued that political action in America was premature. This resolution, adopted at the second annual convention of the American sections of the International, which met at Philadelphia April 11, 1874, voices the principle of independent working-class action which in later times has come to be accepted by the Socialist party throughout the world. The text is from Hillquit's "History."

Considering that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the workingmen themselves,

The Congress of the North American Federation has resolved:

The North American Federation rejects all co-operation and connection with the political parties formed by the possessing classes, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats, or Independents or Liberals, or Patrons of Industry or Patrons of Husbandry (Grangers), or Reformers, or whatever name they may

adopt. Consequently, no member of the Federation can belong any longer to such a party.

The political action of the Federation confines itself generally to the endeavor of obtaining legislative acts in the interest of the working class proper, and always in a manner to distinguish and separate the workingmen's party from all the political parties of the possessing classes.

The Federation will not enter into a truly political campaign or election movement before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then, in the first place, on the field of the municipality, town or city (commune), whence this political movement may be transferred to the large communities (counties, states, United States), according to circumstances, and always in conformity with the congress resolutions.

VIII.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM, 1874-75.

The first Socialist party in America was the Social Democratic Workingmen's party, which was organized in New York, July 4, 1874. It was formed by a number of seceding sections of the International, joined with several radical labor organizations of New York, Williamsburg, Newark and Philadelphia. The text of the platform given here is that of the revised form, adopted at the second convention, held in Philadelphia, July 4-6, 1875, and is taken from Hillquit's "History."

The Social Democratic Workingmen's Party seeks to establish a free state founded upon labor. Each member of the party promises to uphold, to the best of his ability, the following principles:

1. Abolishment of the present unjust political and social conditions.
2. Discontinuance of all class rule and class privileges.
3. Abolition of the workingmen's dependence upon the capitalist by introduction of co-operative labor in place

of the wage system, so that every laborer will get the full value of his work.

4. Obtaining possession of the political power as a prerequisite for the solution of the labor question.

5. United struggle, united organization of all workmen, and strict subordination of the individual under the laws framed for the general welfare.

6. Sympathy with the workingmen of all countries who strive to attain the same object.

IX.

THE GOTHA PROGRAM, 1875.

The Gotha Program was for sixteen years the supreme expression of the Socialist party in Germany. It was adopted at the joint convention of the Liebknecht-Bebel party and the Lassalle party, which met in Gotha in May, 1875, and united under the name of the Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany. It is both a declaration of principles and a program. As a composition, it seems somewhat crude at this day; yet it was the product of a "long, long deliberation," says Liebknecht, in a conference between representatives of each of the two parties before the union.

Marx criticized it severely in a letter from London to his friend Bracke, May 5, 1875. His own view was that the two parties should unite at once, but should defer the formulation of an elaborate declaration until after a period of "longer common activity." His friends, however—Liebknecht, Bebel, Auer and others—disregarded his advice and suppressed his letter, which was not made public until 1891. The Gotha Congress adopted the program as it came from the conference, almost without change and with virtual unanimity. The text is from Kirkup's "History."

I. Labor is the source of all wealth and all culture, and as useful work in general is possible only through society, so to society, that is to all its members, the entire product belongs; while as the obligation to labor is universal, all have an equal right to such product, each one according to his reasonable needs.

In the existing society the instruments of labor are a

monopoly of the capitalist class; the subjection of the working class thus arising is the cause of misery and servitude in every form.

The emancipation of the working class demands the transformation of the instruments of labor into the common property of society and the co-operative control of the total labor, with application of the product of labor to the common good and just distribution of the same.

The emancipation of labor must be the work of the laboring class, in contrast to which all other classes are only a reactionary mass.

II. Proceeding from these principles, the Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany aims by all legal means at the establishment of the free state and the socialistic society, to destroy the iron law of wages by abolishing the system of wage-labor, to put an end to exploitation in every form, to remove all social and political inequality.

The Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany, though acting first of all within the national limits, is conscious of the international character of the labor movement, and resolved to fulfil all the duties which this imposes on the workmen, in order to realize the universal brotherhood of men.

In order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question, the Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with state help under the democratic control of the laboring people. The productive associations are to be founded on such a scale both for industry and agriculture that out of them may develop the socialistic organization of the total labor.

The Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany demands as a basis of the state:

I. Universal, equal and direct right of electing and voting, with secret and obligatory voting, of all citizens from twenty years of age, for all elections and delibera-

tions in the state and local bodies. The day of election or voting must be a Sunday or holiday.

II. Direct legislation by the people. Questions of war and peace to be decided by the people.

III. Universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies.

IV. Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially as regards the press, unions and meetings, and generally of all laws which restrict freedom of thought and inquiry.

V. Administration of justice by the people. Free justice.

VI. Universal and equal education by the state. Compulsory education. Free education in all public places of instruction. Religion declared to be a private concern.

The Socialistic Workingmen's party demands within the existing society:

(1) Greatest possible extension of political rights and liberties in the sense of the above demands.

(2) A single progressive income-tax for state and commune, instead of the existing taxes, and especially of the indirect taxes that oppress the people.

(3) Unrestricted right of combination.

(4) A normal working-day corresponding to the needs of society. Prohibition of Sunday labor.

(5) Prohibition of labor of children and of all women's labor that is injurious to health and morality.

(6) Laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen. Sanitary control of workmen's dwellings. Inspection of mines, of factories, workshops and home industries by officials chosen by the workmen. An effective employers' liability act.

(7) Regulation of prison labor.

(8) Workmen's funds to be under the entire control of the workmen.

X.

VALEDICTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL, 1876.

The Hague Congress (1872) removed the seat of the general council of the International to New York City, and some time later in the fall the actual transfer was made. For about a year the organization showed some activity, and was particularly energetic during the labor troubles of 1873. The International congress of that year was held in Geneva, Switzerland. By 1875 the decline in the strength of the organization was so marked that, according to a manifesto of the general council, only one federation, that of North America, had survived, and even this last one was "greatly impaired by internal dissensions." At Philadelphia, on July 15, 1876, the last convention was held. It was attended by only eleven delegates—ten from the United States and one supposed to represent a group in Germany. The organization was formally dissolved, and a final manifesto was issued to the world. The text is from Spargo's "Karl Marx." The document appears also in almost identical form in Hillquit's "History."

Fellow Workingmen:

The International convention at Philadelphia has abolished the general council of the International Workingmen's Association, and the external bond of the organization is no more.

The International is dead! the bourgeoisie of all countries will again exclaim, and with ridicule and joy it will point to the proceedings of this convention as documentary proof of the defeat of the labor movement of the world. Let us not be influenced by the cry of our enemies! We have abandoned the organization of the International for reasons arising from the present political situation of Europe, but as a compensation for it we see the principles of the organization recognized and defended by the progressive workingmen of the entire civilized world. Let us give our fellow-workers in Europe a little time to strengthen their national affairs, and they will surely soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the workingmen of other parts of the world.

Comrades! you have embraced the principles of the International with heart and love; you will find means to extend the circle of its adherents even without an organization. You will win new champions who will work for the realization of the aims of our association. The comrades in America promise you that they will faithfully guard and cherish the acquisitions of the International in this country until more favorable conditions will again bring together the workingmen of all countries to common struggle, and the cry will resound louder than ever:

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

XI.

WORKINGMEN'S PARTY PLATFORM, 1876.

At a joint convention held in Philadelphia, July 19-22, 1876, the Social Democratic Workingmen's party united with the North American Federation of the International, the Labor Party of Illinois and the Socio-Political Labor Union of Cincinnati. The new organization took the name of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. The former platform was supplanted by a new one which took an extreme stand against participation, for the time, in political action, on the ground of the existing corruption in politics. The text is from Hillquit's "History."

Whereas, The economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated;

Whereas, The Workingmen's party conducts its struggles primarily on the economic field;

Whereas, It is only the economic struggle in which the soldiers for the Workingmen's party can be trained;

Whereas, The ballot-box has in this country long ceased to be the expression of the popular will, but has rather become an instrument for its subversion in the hands of the professional politicians;

Whereas, The organized workingmen are as yet by no means strong enough to root out this corruption;

Whereas, This bourgeois republic has produced a multitude of middle-class reformers and quacks, and the penetration of these elements into the party will be largely facilitated by a political movement;

Whereas, The corruption of the ballot-box and the reform humbug reach their highest bloom in the years of presidential elections, and the dangers of the Workingmen's party are accordingly greatest in these years;

For these reasons the Unity Convention of the Workingmen's party, in session at Philadelphia on the 22nd day of July, 1876, resolves:

The sections of this party and all workingmen generally are earnestly requested for the time being to abstain from all political movements, and to turn their backs upon the ballot-box.

The workingmen will thereby spare themselves many disappointments, and they can devote their time and energies with much more profit to the organizations of the workingmen, which are frequently injured and destroyed by premature action.

Let us bide our time! It will come!

XII.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR DECLARATION, 1878.

The Declaration of Principles of the Knights of Labor is not a strictly Socialist document. Yet it reveals a Socialist influence, and it contains a great many expressions that are clearly and strongly socialistic. The document as a whole is usually credited to George E. McNeil, a onetime prominent labor agitator of Boston, who is said to have prepared it for the Rochester gathering (known as the Labor Congress) in 1874. Another version of its origin, referred to by Hillquit in his "History," is that it was prepared by Uriah S. Stephens, the founder of the order, and that it was based upon a copy of the "Communist Manifesto" sent to Stephens by George Eccarius, the London tailor and friend of Marx. Probably both McNeil and Stephens had a hand in the original draft. It was first made public by the Knights of Labor at the Philadelphia "emergency meeting" in June, 1878. The Declaration was altered

from time to time, and copies now available show many dissimilarities. The text given here is taken from Bliss's "New Encyclopedia of Social Reform."

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party, it is more—for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

1. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the

hands of the law-making power of municipality, state and nation:

3. The establishment of the Referendum in the making of all laws.

4. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses and the establishment of free state labor bureaus.

5. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

6. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays and discriminations in the administration of justice.

7. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing and building industries, and for indemnification of those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

8. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

9. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employes weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

10. The abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works.

11. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

12. The prohibition, by law, of the employment of children under fifteen years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least ten months in the year of all children between the ages of seven and fifteen years; and the furnishing at the expense of the state of free text-books.

13. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.

14. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

15. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

16. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government, but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

17. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

18. That in connection with the postoffice the government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

19. That the government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

20. To establish co-operative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

21. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

22. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

23. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employes, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

XIII.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY RESOLUTION, 1887.

The Workingmen's Party of the United States, at its second convention, which met in Newark December 26, 1877, changed its name to that of the Socialistic Labor Party of North America. Subsequently the name was abbreviated to that of the Socialist Labor party. During its first twelve years the party's attitude toward political action underwent several changes. The Newark convention remodelled the platform and constitution of the older party and definitely declared the political mission of the new organization. During its first two years the party acted, in the main, independently of other parties. From 1880 to 1889, however, it usually supported the party conceived to be nearest it in principles and purposes. The following resolution, adopted at the sixth national convention, held in Buffalo in September, 1887, expresses the general attitude of the party during the greater part of that period. Toward the end of 1888, however, the resolution was rejected. The text given below is from the *Workmen's Advocate*, the Socialist Labor party organ of that time, and is furnished by Edmund Seidel, editor of the *Weekly People*:

Whereas, The Socialist Labor party of the United States is so far chiefly a propagandistic party;

Whereas, It is a good means of agitation to participate in municipal, county, state and congressional elections; therefore

Resolved, To recommend to the members wherever one or more labor parties are in the field, to support that party which is the most progressive; that is, the platform and principles of which come nearest to ours, and at least

recognize the conflict between the class of capitalists and the class of laborers; but members shall not be permitted to participate in the founding of new parties, when there is no reason to believe that the same shall fully recognize our principles.

With regard to the practical application of these tactics, be it provided, that if a decision has been made by the local section or district organization in the premises, it shall be binding upon the members; and no members shall take part in such political movement if the section or district has decided against it.

XIV.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PLATFORM, 1889.

The seventh national convention of the Socialist Labor party, held in Chicago in October, 1889, determined to resume its earlier attitude of uncompromising independence of other parties. Since that time this policy has not been altered. A new platform, drafted by Lucien Sanial, and a resolution expressing the party's attitude on political action were adopted, as given below. The text is from the *Workmen's Advocate*, and is furnished by Edmund Seidel, editor of the *Weekly People*:

PLATFORM.

Labor being the self-evident creator of all wealth and civilization, it is but equitable that those who perform all labor and thus create all wealth should enjoy the product of their toil.

But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production which, since the discovery of steam-power and since the general introduction of machines, is in all branches of industry carried on with such gigantic means and appliances as but a few are able to possess.

The present industrial system is co-operative in *one respect only*, which is: That not, as in former times, the individual works alone and for his own account, but dozens, hundreds and thousands of men work together in shops, in mines, on huge farms and lands, co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, while the

fruits of this co-operative labor are not reaped by the workers themselves, but are in a great measure appropriated by the owners of the means of production.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class of people, necessarily separates society into two classes—the class of the wage-workers and that of the capitalists.

This system causes:

The planlessness and reckless rate of production.

The waste of human and natural forces.

The commercial and industrial crises.

The constant uncertainty of the material existence of the wage-workers.

The misery of the laboring masses.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few.

These conditions which under the present industrial system cannot but become more and more aggravated, are inconsistent with the interests of mankind, and with the principles of justice and true democracy, as they destroy those rights which the Declaration of Independence of the United States holds to be inalienable in all men: the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These conditions shorten and imperil life by want and misery. They destroy liberty because the economical subjection of the wage-workers to the owners of the means of production leads immediately to their political dependence upon the same sources, and finally frustrates the pursuit of happiness, which is never possible when life and personal liberty are constantly endangered.

In order, therefore, to abolish these humiliating conditions, we strive to introduce the *perfect* system of co-operative production—that is, we demand that the workers obtain the undivided product of their toil.

This system, however, carries within itself the germs of a new organization of humanity in the modern industrial states, both economically and morally.

By the evolution of this system to the last stage, the

proletarianized masses of workers will finally have opposed to them comparatively few industrial despots, and by reason of the unbearable uncertainty of living conditions, the former will be compelled to abolish the wage-system, and establish the co-operative society.

The basis of co-operative society stipulates the substitution of public ownership for private ownership of land, instruments of labor (machines, factories, etc.), and with it co-operative production and guarantee of a share in the product in accordance with the service rendered by the individual to society.

The Socialist Labor party bases its name, "Labor party," upon the acknowledgement of the oppression of the class of wage-workers by the class of capitalists.

DEMANDS.

We consider it the first duty of the Government and Legislatures to change the present economic conditions into a co-operative system of society, by proper legislation, and thus avoid a conflict between the possessors and the non-possessors. For that purpose we strive for the acquisition of political power with all appropriate means.

Social Demands.

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production; establishment by Act of Congress of a legal work-day of not more than eight hours for all industrial workers, and corresponding provisions for all agricultural laborers.

2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, of ferries, and to supply the light to streets and public places.

4. Public lands to be declared inalienable. They shall be leased to agricultural labor associations. Revoca-

tion of all grants of lands by the United States to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with or which are otherwise illegal.

5. Legal incorporation by the States of local trades unions which have no national organization.

6. Furthering of workmen's co-operative productive associations by public allowances; such associations to be preferred in the placing of contracts for public works.

7. Inauguration of public works in times of economic depression.

8. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

9. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

10. The United States to have the right of expropriation of running patents, new inventions to be free to all, but inventors to be remunerated by national rewards.

11. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; but smaller incomes to be exempt.

12. Compulsory school education of all children under fourteen years of age, instruction in all educational institutions to be gratuitous and to be made accessible to all by public assistance (furnishing meals, clothes, books, etc.). All instruction to be under the direction of the United States and to be organized on a uniform plan.

13. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

14. Official statistics concerning the condition of labor. Prohibition of the employment of children in the school age, and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Prohibition of the convict contract system.

15. All wages to be paid in cash money. Equalization by law of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

16. Laws for the protection of life and limbs of

working people, and an efficient employers' liability law.

17. Uniform national marriage laws. Divorce to be granted upon mutual consent, and upon providing for the care of the children.

Political Demands.

1. The people to have the right to propose laws (initiative) and to vote upon all laws of importance (referendum).

2. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-Presidency and Senate of the United States. An Executive Board to be established, whose members are to be elected, and may at any time be recalled, by the House of Representatives as the only legislative body. The states and municipalities to adopt corresponding amendments to their constitutions and statutes.

3. Municipal self-government.

4. Direct vote and secret ballot in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of minority representation to be introduced.

5. The members of all legislative bodies to be responsible to, and subject to recall by, the constituency.

6. Uniform law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

7. Separation of all public affairs from religion; church property to be subject to taxation.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The Socialist Labor party of the United States is a propagandistic party, and

Whereas, The participation in municipal, county, state and congressional elections is a good means of agitation,

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor party hereby declares itself to be an independent political party for the purpose of participating in such elections; and

Resolved, That faithful allegiance to the Socialist

Labor party and severance of all connection with other political parties shall be a condition of membership in the Socialist Labor party, all other parties being considered as forming one reactionary mass.

XV.

THE ERFURT PROGRAM, 1891.

The long-felt need of a restatement of both its theoretical principles and its immediate demands caused the German party congress at Erfurt, in 1891, to recast its platform entirely. But for the twelve-years fight against the Exception laws (1878-1890), which concentrated the party's energies on the one matter of defense, the work would doubtless have been done long before.

The Marxian influence had become predominant in the party, and the new declaration expressed a wholly Marxian attitude. Yet as Kirkup points out, neither the materialistic conception of history nor the theory of surplus value was expressed in the document, "though they may be taken as underlying it by those who emphasize these two leading principles of Marx." Primarily, it emphasized the class struggle; and doubtless to its framers who had just passed through a particularly bitter phase of that struggle, an insistence upon this living actuality was of far greater importance than an attempt to frame an epitome of Socialism, which should embrace all its principles. The text is taken from Kirkup's "History of Socialism." The translation is not altogether satisfactory, since it retains, in spots, an un-English form of construction.

The economic development of the bourgeois society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of the small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production, and transforms him into a proletarian without property, whilst the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

This monopolizing of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the

development of the tool into the machine, and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labor. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the sinking intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors—it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation and exploitation.

Ever greater grows the number of the proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between exploiters and exploited, ever bitterer the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial lands.

The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalistic method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, and prove that the productive forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

Private property in the instruments of production, which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into social property, and the transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labor may become for the hitherto

exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the laboring class, because all other classes, in spite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle, and cannot develop its economic organization, without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society without coming into possession of political power.

To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic party.

In all lands where the capitalistic method of production prevails, the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market, the condition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilized countries are equally interested. Recognizing this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all

without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it struggles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex or race.

Proceeding from these principles the Social Democratic Party of Germany now demands:

1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage, with vote by ballot, for all men and women of the empire over twenty years of age. Proportional electoral system; and, till the introduction of this, legal redistribution of seats after every census. Biennial legislative periods. Elections to take place on a legal day of rest. Payment of representatives. Abolition of all limitation of political rights, except in the case of disfranchisement.
2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of the right of initiative and referendum. Self-government of the people in empire, state, province and commune. Officials to be elected by the people; responsibility of officials. Yearly granting of taxes.
3. Training in universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies. Decision on peace and war by the representatives of the people. Settlement of all international differences by arbitration.
4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress the free expression of opinion and the right of union and meeting.
5. Abolition of all laws which, in public or private matters, place women at a disadvantage as compared with men.
6. Religion declared to be a private matter. No public funds to be applied to ecclesiastical and religious purposes. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations

which manage their own affairs in a perfectly independent manner.

7. Secularization of the school. Obligatory attendance at the public people's schools. Education, the appliances of learning and maintenance free in the public people's schools, as also in the higher educational institutions for those scholars, both male and female, who, by reason of their talents, are thought to be suited for further instruction.
8. Administration of justice and legal advice to be free. Justice to be administered by judges chosen by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation for those who are innocently accused, imprisoned and condemned. Abolition of capital punishment.
9. Medical treatment, including midwifery and the means of healing, to be free. Free burial.
10. Progressive income and property taxes to meet all public expenditure, so far as these are to be covered by taxation. Duty of making one's own return of income and property. Succession duty to be graduated according to amount and relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs and other financial measures which sacrifice the collective interest to the interests of a privileged minority. For the protection of the working class the Social Democratic Party of Germany demands—
 1. An effective national and international protective legislation for workmen on the following bases:
 - (a) Fixing of a normal working day of not more than eight hours.
 - (b) Prohibition of money-making labor of children under fourteen years.
 - (c) Prohibition of night work, except for those branches of industry which from their nature, owing to technical reasons or reasons of public welfare, require night work.

- (d) An unbroken period of rest of at least thirty-six hours in every week for every worker.
 - (e) Prohibition of the truck system.
 - 2. Supervision of all industrial establishments, investigation and regulation of the conditions of labor in town and country by an imperial labor department, district labor offices and labor chambers. A thorough system of industrial hygiene.
 - 3. Agricultural laborers and servants to be placed on the same footing as industrial workers; abolition of servants' regulations.
 - 4. The right of combination to be placed on a sure footing.
 - 5. Undertaking of the entire workingmen's insurance by the empire, with effective co-operation of the workmen in its administration.
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XVI.

THE FEDERATION "ELEVEN PLANKS," 1894.

The episode of the attempt to commit the American Federation of Labor to a more radical platform has a certain historic interest and the platform itself a historic value. At the convention held in Chicago in 1893 a Socialist delegate, Thomas J. Morgan, of that city, introduced the resolution, including a set of eleven planks, given below. After some discussion the whole matter was submitted to a referendum of the unions affiliated to the Federation, in the form of a mandate instructing their delegates how to vote at the next convention. The voting resulted, according to general belief, in a large majority for affirmative instructions.

At the following convention (Denver, 1894) the first nine planks were approved almost as originally drafted. Plank 11 was incorporated with plank 2, making it read: "Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum." Plank 3 was amended to read: "A legal workday of not more than eight hours." The words "water works" were inserted in plank 8 after the words "street cars." During the discussion upon plank 10 a substitute was introduced and carried affirming use and occupancy as the only title to land. Two further planks, one

demanding the repeal of conspiracy and penal laws against workers, and the other demanding a system of direct issuance of money to the people, were added. It is contended that this substitution was a desperate trick of the anti-Socialist officials. The whole matter has been a source of protracted controversy.

Whereas, The trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

Whereas, Such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

Whereas, Such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to-wit:

1. Compulsory education;
2. Direct legislation;
3. A legal eight-hour work-day;
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home;
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body or life;
6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work;
7. The abolition of the sweating system;
8. The municipal ownership of street-cars and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat and power;
9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads and mines;
10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution;
11. The principle of referendum in all legislation; therefore,

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and

Resolved, That this program and basis of a political labor movement be and is hereby submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.

XVII.

UNITY PROPOSAL, 1900.

The faction of the Socialist Labor party which won control of the organization in July, 1899, but which was ousted by the courts and declared to be the seceding faction, held a national convention at Rochester in February, 1900. At this convention the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, organized by De Leon in 1895, was repudiated, a new constitution was adopted and a Presidential ticket (Job Harriman for President and Max S. Hayes for Vice-President) was nominated. The convention further elected a committee of nine to propose union with the Social Democratic party (organized by Eugene V. Debs and others in Chicago in May, 1898) and issued the following unity proposal. The text is from Hillquit's "History":

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Social Democratic Party of the United States.

Whereas, The course of development of the Socialist movement in the United States during the last few years has obliterated all difference of principle and views between the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party, and both parties are now practically identical in their platforms, tactics and methods;

Whereas, Harmonious and concerted action of all Socialist elements of the United States is expedient for a successful campaign against the combined forces of capitalism;

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the interests of Socialism will be best subserved by a speedy union of the Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party into one strong, harmonious and united Socialist party;

Resolved, That we call upon the earnest and intelligent Socialists of this country in the ranks of both parties to discard all petty ambitions and personal prejudices in

the face of this great purpose, and to conduct the negotiations for unity of both parties, not in the sense of two hostile camps, each negotiating for peace with a view of securing the greatest advantages to itself, but in the sense of equal parties, hitherto working separately for a common cause, and now sincerely seeking to provide a proper basis for honorable and lasting union for the benefit of that cause;

Resolved, That for the purpose of effecting union between the two parties on the basis outlined, this convention appoint a committee of nine to act as a permanent committee on Socialist union, until the question is definitely disposed of;

Resolved, That the said committee be authorized to delegate a representative or representatives to the next national convention of the Social Democratic party in order to convey this resolution to said party and to invite the said party to appoint a similar committee; and

Resolved, That any treaty of union evolved by the joint committee on union, including the question of party name, platform and constitution, be submitted to a general vote of both parties.

XVIII.

UNITY CONVENTION PLATFORM, 1901.

The proposal of unity was in effect accepted, though the specific terms were rejected, at the convention of the Social Democratic party, which met at Indianapolis on March 6, 1900. Thereupon the convention elected a committee of nine, with full power of action, to meet a similar committee from the Rochester faction of the Socialist Labor party.

It also named Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for President and Job Harriman, of the Socialist Labor party, as its candidate for Vice-President. The joint committee meeting was held in New York City March 25-26, and a tentative agreement was reached, under which the Indianapolis nominations were ratified and the two platforms were amalgamated, while a choice of two names for the new organization was submitted to the referendum which was to pass upon the agreement. A deplorable controversy followed, and the agreement was

declared to have been rejected by the Social Democratic party. In the main, however, both elements carried on a common work during the campaign, under the name of the Social Democratic party, which had won a majority of votes in the referendum.

Following the Presidential election, renewed efforts toward complete unity proved successful, and at the convention which met at Indianapolis July 29, 1901, the two factions, with three independent State organizations, were finally amalgamated under the name of the Socialist party.

The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of international Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalist and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working

class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The democratic, republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries, controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries

to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all with state and municipal aid in books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public-ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

XIX.**SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM, 1912.****PREAMBLE.**

The Socialist party of the United States declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of billions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelm-

ing majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it, also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the republican and democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage-earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage-earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any republican or democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike

under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war. They have constantly been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established custom gives to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist

class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the democrats or republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class, the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage-earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields, as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation, in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party

in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present-day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

WORKING PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its powers of resistance to capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Collective Ownership.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the state or the federal government, of all grain elevators, stockyards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant

waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

- (e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

7. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

Unemployment.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a work day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the work day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

5. By abolishing the brutal exploitation of convicts under the contract system, and substituting the co-operative organization of industries in penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment, illness and invalidism, and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to the nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

3. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

4. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

5. The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president.

6. The election of the president and vice president by direct vote of the people.

7. The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

8. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be amendable by a majority of the voters.

9. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

10. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

11. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The bureau of education to be made a department.

12. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure the full liberty of all schools to practice.

13. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

14. The abolition of all federal district courts and circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

15. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

16. The free administration of justice.

17. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to

seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

XX.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 1884-1915.

Modern Socialist platforms in the various nations are virtually identical in their expression of principles and tactics, and they differ, in the main, only in regard to issues which are peculiar to each nation. One Socialist body, however, reveals marked differences from the type of the various Socialist parties. That is the Fabian Society of England. It was organized on January 4, 1884. Edward R. Pease, the present secretary, was one of its founders, and among those who early joined it were Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, Sydney Olivier and Mrs. Annie Besant. For a number of years it kept apart from other Socialist bodies, and carried on a propaganda designed to "permeate" Liberalism with Socialism. It aided, however, in the organization of the Independent Labor Party in 1893, and later (1900) in the formation of the Labor Representation Committee (now known as the Labor Party). Though giving only a dubious adherence to the class-struggle theory, the Fabian Society is represented in the International Socialist Bureau and Congresses, having two Congress votes out of the twenty allotted to Great Britain.

The following statement of its principles is taken from the 1913 edition of Kirkup's "History of Socialism":

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The society, further, works for the transfer to the

community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical and political aspects.

The work of the Fabian Society takes, at present, the following forms:

(1) Meetings for the discussion of questions connected with Socialism.

(2) The further investigation of economic problems and the collection of facts contributing to their elucidation.

(3) The issue of publications containing information on social questions and arguments relating to Socialism.

(4) The promotion of Socialist lectures and debates in other societies and clubs.

(5) The representation of the society in public conferences and discussions on social questions.

XXI.

ANTI-WAR MANIFESTO, 1912.

The breaking out of the Balkan War, in September-October, 1912, caused the International Socialist Bureau to call a Special Congress, and at the same time to postpone till 1914 the Regular Congress which was to have met in Vienna in 1913. The Special Congress met in Basel, Switzerland, November 24-25, 1912. There were 555 delegates in attendance. The United States was not represented. On the opening day a great demonstration was held in the Cathedral and in the adjacent square. The Congress unanimously passed a resolution on the war and on the possibility of its extension to the great powers. The following extract is from the concluding paragraphs:

The congress invites the workingmen of all countries to put against the might of capitalist imperialism the international solidarity of the working class. It wants the ruling classes in all countries to put an end to the economic misery produced by the capitalist system, and not to increase it by warlike action. It insists on the demand for peace. Governments must not forget that in the present condition of Europe and the present feeling of the workers, war will not be without disaster to themselves.

They must remember that the Franco-German war resulted in the revolutionary movement of the commune, that the Russo-Japanese war put into motion the revolutionary movement in Russia, and that the competition of rival armaments has in England increased class conflicts, and on the continent brought about enormous strikes. It would be madness if the governments did not comprehend that the mere notion of a world war will call forth the anger and protest of the workers. The latter consider it a crime to shoot each other in the interest and for the profit of capitalism, for the sake of dynastic honors and of diplomatic secret treaties.

If the governments interrupt the possibility of development of the people, and thereby provoke desperate

steps, they will have to take the whole responsibility. . . . The international organization will redouble its efforts to avert such a crisis and spread its views more energetically, and will keep in close touch with developments everywhere.

XXII.

MANIFESTOES AGAINST WAR, 1914.

The Great War came suddenly. As the signs grew more ominous during July, 1914, the European Socialist parties exerted their activity in striving to checkmate the preparations. General mass meetings were held, and the German, Austrian, French, Italian and British parties and the British section of the International Bureau issued manifestoes to the people. The German party manifesto, issued July 25th, is typical:

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The fields in the Balkans are not yet dry from the blood of those who have been massacred by thousands; the ruins of the devastated towns are still smoking; unemployed hungry men, widowed women and orphaned children are still wandering about the country. Yet once more the war-fury, unchained by Austrian imperialism, is setting out to bring death and destruction over the whole of Europe.

Though we also condemn the behavior of the Great Serbia nationalists, the frivolous war-provocation of the Austro-Hungarian government calls for the sharpest protest. For the demands of that government are more brutal than have ever been put to an independent state in the world's history, and can only be intended deliberately to provoke war.

In the name of humanity and civilization the class-conscious proletariat of Germany raises a flaming protest against this criminal behavior of the war provokers. It imperiously demands of the German government that it use its influence with the Austrian government for the preservation of peace, and, if the shameful war cannot be

prevented, to abstain from any armed interference. Not one drop of a German soldier's blood shall be sacrificed to the lust of power of the Austrian rulers and to the imperialistic profit-interests.

Comrades, we appeal to you to express at mass meetings without delay the German proletariat's firm determination to maintain peace. A solemn hour has come, more serious than any during the last few decades. Danger is approaching! The world-war is threatening! The ruling classes who in time of peace gag you, despise you and exploit you, would misuse you as food for cannon. Everywhere must sound in the ears of those in power: "We will have no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of the peoples!"

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

The International Congress was to have met at Vienna on September 23d. The International Bureau was hastily summoned to meet at Brussels, where on July 29th it changed the date and place of meeting of the congress to Paris, August 9th, and issued the following proclamation:

In assembly of July 29th the International Socialist Bureau has heard declarations from representatives of all nations threatened by a world war, describing the political situation in their respective countries.

With unanimous vote, the bureau considers it an obligation for the workers of all concerned nations not only to continue but even to strengthen their demonstrations against war in favor of peace and of a settlement of the Austro-Servian conflict by arbitration.

The German and French workers will bring to bear on their governments the most vigorous pressure in order that Germany may secure in Austria a moderating action, and in order that France may obtain from Russia an undertaking that she will not engage in the conflict. On their side the workers of Great Britain and Italy will sustain these efforts with all the power at their command.

The congress urgently convoked in Paris will be the

vigorous expression of the absolutely peaceful will of the workers of the whole world.

The International Socialist Bureau congratulates the Russian workers on their revolutionary attitude and invites them to continue their heroic efforts against czarism as being one of the most effective guarantees against the threatened world war.

XXIII.

THE BELGIAN MANIFESTO, 1914.

The war, however, was hurried forward by the ruling powers, and the Paris congress never met. After the beginning of hostilities manifestoes were issued by the parties of each of the belligerent nations except Germany. The Belgian document disavows Socialist responsibility for the war but declares the duty of Belgian Socialists to fight for the preservation of the nation against militarist barbarism. The wording is as follows:

To the People!

The European war is declared.

In a few days, a few hours perhaps, millions of men who ask only to live in peace will be dragged without their consent into the most appalling of butcheries by treaties to which they have not agreed, by a decision with which they had nothing to do.

The Social Democracy bears no responsibility in this disaster.

It shrank from nothing to warn the people, to prevent the folly of armaments, to drive back the catastrophe which will strike all European communities.

But today the harm is done, and by the fatality of events one thought dominates us: that soon, perhaps, we shall have to direct our efforts to stopping the invasion of our territory.

We do so with all the more ardent hearts in that in defending the neutrality and even the existence of our country against militarist barbarism we shall be conscious

of serving the cause of democracy and of political liberties in Europe.

Our comrades who are called to the colors will show how Socialist workers can conduct themselves in the face of danger. But whatever the circumstances in which they find themselves, we ask them never to forget among the horrors they will see perpetrated, that they belong to the Workers' International, and that they must be fraternal and humane as far as is compatible with their legitimate individual defense and that of the country.

XXIV.

THE AMERICAN MANIFESTO, 1914.

Shortly after the beginning of the war the Committee on Immediate Action of the American Socialist party issued the following manifesto:

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby extends its sympathy to the workers of Europe in their hour of trial, when they have been plunged into bloody and senseless conflict by ambition-crazed monarchs, designing politicians and scheming capitalists.

We bid them to consider that the workers of the various nations involved have no quarrel with each other, and that the evils from which they suffer—poverty, want, unemployment, oppression—are inflicted upon them not by the workers of some other country, but by the ruling classes of their own country.

We bid them to take thought before they allow themselves to be used blindly by heartless and inhuman despots who would spill the blood of thousands, inflict pain and sorrow upon millions, devastate the land and set back civilization in order to further their own wretched plots and schemes.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in conformity with the declarations of the international Socialist movement, hereby reiterates its opposition to this and

all other wars, waged upon any pretext whatsoever; war being a crude, savage and unsatisfactory method of settling real or imaginary differences between nations, and destructive of the ideals of brotherhood and humanity to which the international Socialist movement is dedicated.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby expresses its condemnation of the ruling classes of Europe and points out to the world that by their action in this crisis they have conclusively proven that they are unfit to administer the affairs of nations in such a manner that the lives and happiness of the people may be safeguarded.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon all foreign-born workingmen residing in this country, particularly upon those whose home governments are engaged in the present strife, to hold joint mass meetings for the purpose of emphasizing the fraternity and solidarity of all working people, irrespective of color, creed, race or nationality. We call upon the Socialist locals throughout the country to promote such meetings and to give all possible assistance.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby pledges its loyal support to the Socialist parties of Europe in any measures they might think it necessary to undertake to advance the cause of peace and of good-will among men.

The Socialist Party of the United States hereby calls upon the national administration to prove the genuineness of its policy of peace by opening immediate negotiations for mediation and expending every effort to bring about the speedy termination of this disastrous conflict.

XXV.

THE AMERICAN PEACE PROGRAM, 1915.

The session of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States, May 10-15, 1915, issued an Anti-War Manifesto and Peace Program, which together form a

single document, and an Address to the People. The concluding portion of the former document is as follows:

The supreme duty of the hour is for us, the Socialists of all the world, therefore, to summon all labor forces of the world for an aggressive and uncompromising opposition to the whole capitalist system, and to every form of its most deadly fruits,—militarism and war; to strengthen the bonds of working-class solidarity; to deepen the currents of conscious internationalism, and to proclaim to the world a constructive program leading towards permanent peace.

The Socialists of America extend the hand of comradeship to their unfortunate brothers in all countries now ravaged by the war, the sufferers and victims of the vicious system which has engulfed them in fratricidal carnage. We convey to them our unfaltering faith in the world-wide class-struggle, in international Socialism and in the brotherhood of man. We proclaim our determination to join our comrades in the task of rebuilding the Socialist International upon such a basis that henceforth it cannot be shaken by the most violent storms of capitalist conflicts.

To the Socialist and labor forces in all the world and to all who cherish the ideals of justice, we make our appeal, believing that out of the ashes of this mighty conflagration will yet arise the deeper internationalism and the great democracy and peace.

As measures calculated to bring about these results, we urge

Our Program.

I. TERMS OF PEACE AT THE CLOSE OF THE PRESENT WAR must be based on the following provisions:

1. No indemnities.
2. No transfer of territory except upon the consent and by vote of the people within the territory.
3. All countries under foreign rule to be given

political independence if demanded by the inhabitants of such countries.

II. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION—THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

1. An international congress with legislative and administrative powers over international affairs, with adequate means for the enforcement of its decrees, and with permanent committees in place of present secret diplomacy.

2. Special commissions to consider international disputes as they may arise. The decisions of such commissions to be enforced without resort to arms. Each commission to go out of existence when the special problem that called it into being is solved.

3. International ownership and control of strategic waterways such as the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez, Panama and Kiel Canals.

4. Neutralization of the seas.

III. DISARMAMENT.

1. Universal disarmament as speedily as possible, pending complete disarmament.

2. Abolition of manufacture of arms and munitions of war for private profit, and prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipments and supplies from one country to another.

3. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.

4. No appropriations for military or naval purposes.

IV. EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY.

1. Political democracy.

(a) Abolition of secret diplomacy and democratic control of foreign policies.

(b) Universal suffrage, including woman suffrage.

2. Industrial democracy.

RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGES IN ALL COUNTRIES TO ELIMINATE THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR, such as will be calculated to gradually take the industrial and commercial processes of the nations out of the hands of the irresponsible capitalist class and place them in the hands of the people, to operate them collectively for the satisfaction of human wants and not for private profits in co-operation and harmony and not through competition and war.

V. IMMEDIATE ACTION.

Immediate and energetic efforts shall be made through the organizations of the Socialist parties of all nations to secure universal co-operation of all Socialist and labor organizations and all true friends of peace to obtain the endorsement of this program.

XXVI.

WOMEN'S PEACE MANIFESTO, 1915.

A secret conference of Socialist women, with delegates representing Germany, England, France, Russia, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Austria, was held at Berne, Switzerland, some time in April, 1915. It was called by Clara Zetkin, one of the leaders of the German Social Democratic party, and international secretary of the woman Socialists' organization, to consider the policy to be adopted by that body. Extreme secrecy was necessary on account of the attitude of the German and Austrian governments. The most amicable relations were shown between delegates of the belligerent nations. A manifesto, from which the following paragraphs are taken, was adopted:

The present world war has its root in the imperialist ideas of a capitalist society. The possessing classes of every country have sought to strengthen their power by extending their dominion not only over the workers in their own countries but also beyond the frontiers of their own nations.

Behind those possessing classes is felt the constant pressure of financial interests which are international in character and which, in the great industry of armament-making,

have exploited the nations themselves, setting them in competition one against the other.

History will show the diplomatic crimes which led to the war, and will prove how vast is the guilt of the great powers.

The war has lasted eight months. Countless thousands of human lives have been destroyed. Invaluable gifts of civilization have been annihilated. The war has raised barriers of barbarism across the path of progress towards man's highest ideals.

The war began with the violation of international law which brought upon the unoffending, neutral country of Belgium the most terrible disasters. At the end of it the nations will be drained of their vital forces, their economic resources will be exhausted, and their social progress indefinitely retarded.

The interests of the working people of the neutral, as well as the belligerent states of Europe, nay, even of the whole world, are irreconcilably opposed to the present war.

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In consequence of these considerations the extraordinary conference of Socialist women declares:

War on this war! It asks the immediate end of this horrible strife between peoples and a peace without annexation or conquest. It asks for a peace that recognizes the right of peoples and nations, both large and small, to independence and self-government, that enforces no humiliating and insupportable conditions upon any country, that requires expiation of the wrong inflicted upon Belgium, thus clearing the way for the peaceful, friendly co-operation of the nations. Such a peace is a necessary condition in order that in the belligerent countries the workers may awake from the spell of a capitalist conception of nationalism, and that the Socialist and labor organizations may assume their task as the conscious vanguard of progress, gathering and uniting the masses in a solid phalanx around the flag of international Socialism.

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